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The Urban Guerrillas

Speculation on "international conspiracies"—conspiracies of any political coloration—fell into disfavor in the 1950s, but the pendulum now may have swung back, and rightly so. Recent events, and intelligence estimates leaked by the CIA, indicate that at least one red-hot international conspiracy is flourishing wildly—that of the urban guerrilla.

The world abounds with leftist, Marxist, and Communist-oriented urban guerrilla groups, from the Tupamaros of Uruguay to the Red Army of Japan, from the Palestinian Liberation Front in the Mid-East to the Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army. These groups consistently make nauseating headlines with their hijackings, kidnappings, assassinations, and terrorist bombings. By any reasonable moral code, their members are without souls, unhesitatingly willing to gun down a man just to see him bleed.

No better example of the breed could be provided than the three members of the Japanese Red Army who recently wiped out 26 innocent

bystanders at Tel Aviv's Lod Airport. That act represents the most concrete example to date of the kind of co-operation being established among urban guerrilla groups: At his trial, the sole surviving Japanese gunman confessed that the Lod massacre had been requested by the Palestinian Liberation Front, which preferred not to do its own dirty work.

It is one thing to kill and to kidnap for your own cause, activities which our own OSS engaged in with a high degree of skill; it is quite another to blast and butcher without reservation—for a cause that seeks not peace, but destruction. For in the end, all the urban guerrilla groups have only one goal: to preside over the ash heap that they create. Small wonder, then, that the CIA and other Western intelligence organizations are discovering—and leaking—more information about an international urban guerrilla network.

Americans must hope that the network has not yet spread to include the bomb-and-burn types here. But if it has, our home-grown murderers will need time to crank up their bloody campaign, and by then the experience of other governments may provide a satisfactory method of handling urban guerrillas. In fact, that is why the current conflict in Northern Ireland is so significant for the Free World. Nowhere else has the urban terrorist come so close to destroying a nation; nowhere else has a government tried so hard to destroy the destroyers. Even if no formal international conspiracy exists, the odds are that the outcome of the battle for Northern Ireland will determine the outcome of the next battle for Berkeley.

Neo-Isolationist

*By Godfrey Sperling,
The Christian Science Monitor*

"From an interview with Senator McGovern and from conversations with some of his top consultants on foreign policy it becomes abundantly clear that the Senator is bent on leading this country into a kind of neo-isolationism, where our global role will be as minimal as possible—much less, for example, than that envisioned by President Nixon as the result of his Guam doctrine of disengagement."

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Urban Guerrillas Studied in West

Although well-publicized in the West, were infrequent.

By DREW MIDDLETON

The United States Army and armies in Western Europe and Latin America are devoting more and more time and effort to the operational techniques of urban guerrilla warfare.

Military concentration on such warfare and the exchange of data were increased by reports from the Central Intelligence Agency and foreign intelligence services of connections among terrorist groups.

These included the Japanese "Red Army" terrorists, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and other Arab guerrillas in the Middle East, the People's Liberation Army in Turkey, and Italy's "Red Brigade."

There are unconfirmed reports that the Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army has received arms from Japanese terrorists.

Contacts With Tupamaros

The Turkish guerrillas are believed to have contacts with the Tupamaros of Uruguay, the oldest and best-organized urban guerrilla group in Latin America. The Tupamaros, who have exploited Uruguay's chronic economic unrest for eight years, accept the Marxist doctrine that the revolution will emerge after a period of "armed struggle" and have initiated a series of political kidnappings, bank robberies and assassinations.

In the United States, the Army has not yet been involved with true urban guerrilla warfare. Contingency training and planning relates to such warfare abroad in countries where there is a firm American commitment for assistance — for example, a Communist uprising in Naples, Italy — or in long-range planning within the continental United States.

The rationale for Army interest is the belief, in the Pentagon and in the defense ministries of foreign countries, that the guerrilla is moving from his classic environment of mountains and forests to the asphalt jungles of modern cities.

American planning concentrates on what its field manual calls "assistance to civil authorities in civil disturbance control operations." Planning and training for such operations began after the Detroit riot in 1967.

Since then, the National Guard and, to a lesser degree, the Army has been involved in civil disturbances.

One of these, the Kent State incident in May, 1970, demonstrated an absence of fire control by National Guard troops that the Department of Defense has been working hard to correct. The field manual emphasizes restraint in the use of deadly weapons and close control of that use if they become necessary.

The National Guard is the first resort in civil disturbance. All Guard units assigned to such duty receive 16 hours of training in civil disturbances at the end of their basic combat training cycle.

National Guard units are required to carry out a unit refresher training program of up to 16 hours annually and eight hours of junior leadership training. Regular Army units receive 33 hours of civil disturbance training annually.

This involves exercises in platoon and company formations, basically the "V," or wedge-shaped movement, with the point of the wedge directed at the riot. Army officers say such operations are useful for riot control but are "only part of the story" in urban guerrilla warfare.

The current fighting between the British Army and the Provisionals of the I.R.A. in Northern Ireland offers a prime example of urban guerrilla warfare.

Such warfare is more prolonged and intense than operations to quell a riot, but less deadly than regular military action against another army in a city.

Reports Exchanged

Western armies exchange reports on the techniques of coping with urban guerrilla warfare. Past performances are constantly reviewed.

The Russians, it is held, erred in bringing tanks, which have limited visibility, into Budapest in 1956. The French in Algeria, it is alleged, used torture in the nineteen-fifties to get information to the point of alienating friendly or neutral Arabs.

While field manuals proliferate in regular forces, most urban guerrillas study "The Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla" by Carlos L. Marighella, a Brazilian guerrilla killed in Sao Paulo in 1969, and Regis Debray's "Revolution in the Revolution? Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin America."

Urban Warfare Stressed

In contrast to the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Communist party, and Ernesto (Che) Guevara,

the Cuban Revolutionary who was killed in Bolivia, urban guerrilla warfare, rather than rural guerrilla warfare, is apparently becoming accepted as the primary anti-Establishment strategy. Mr. Marighella wrote:

"The principal task of the urban guerrilla is to divert, weaken and demoralize the military, the military dictatorship and their repressive forces, in addition to launching devastating attacks and looting operations against American, foreign and bourgeoisie interests."

"Such tactics allow the creation and survival of urban guerrilla forces which are designed to play a decisive role in revolutionary war. The urban guerrilla does not hesitate to disrupt and destroy the present economic and social systems."

The Army field manual recognizes varying types of civil disturbances. These range from "mass demonstrations" through "civil disobedience," "idealist protests" and "dispersed riots" to "political terrorism—involving extremely violent, often nihilistic or even anarchistic tactics, such as sniping and bombing attacks, which make conventional police operations probably ineffective and certainly dangerous."

Minimum Force Urged

Generally, Western armies are wedded to the concept of minimum force in dealing with urban warfare.

The American field manual says, "The use of force must be restricted to the minimum degree consistent with mission accomplishment." It also warns that excessive or unnecessary force may subject those responsible to civil or criminal liability "and may serve to increase public sympathy for the demonstrators."

Brig. C.N. Barclay, now retired from the British Army and a leading authority on urban guerrilla warfare, said in Military Review, the Command and General Staff school publication, that while the object of war is to cause the maximum number of casualties, in internal security "the rule is to use the minimum force consistent with the attainment of the object — the restoration of law and order on the spot."

Students of Soviet tactics that were used in crushing uprisings in Eastern Europe say the Russians believe that law and order are restored fastest by the application of maximum force.

Five divisions were used in the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. Resistance incidents,

'Drastic Last Resort'

The Army field manual regards the commitment of Federal military forces as a "drastic last resort" and says that their role "should never be greater than is absolutely necessary."

It notes that Federal forces are to be used only after the National Guard and the police have used all their own available forces "and are unable to control the situation."

The trend in Army training and theory discourages the indiscriminate "use of deadly force." It is authorized only after lesser means have been exhausted or are unavailable, when the risk of death or serious injury to the innocent is not significantly increased by its use, and when it meets four requirements.

These are self-defense to avoid death or serious wounds; prevention of crime that involves a risk of death or wounds, such as sniping or setting fire to an inhabited dwelling; prevention of the destruction of public utilities or property vital to health and safety, and detention or prevention of

the escape of persons who have committed or have attempted to commit one of these offenses.

Field training instructions emphasize lessons learned by the United States Army and other armies.

The manual instructs soldiers to establish observation posts on rooftops and in windows of high buildings when seeking out snipers. This urban version of the battlefield adage, "take the high ground," has enabled the British in Northern Ireland to restrict street patrols to six or seven men when hunting snipers.

The Americans regard the armored car as "well-suited" in street fighting because of its capacity to "engage and overcome violent resistance with a minimum degree of force."

Other armies are not as sanguine. They contend that mines and bombs, especially the easily made Molotov cocktail, have proved effective against armored vehicles in Budapest, Algiers and Belfast.

The consensus of French and British officers is that there is no substitute for the infantry patrol in urban fighting.

"The basic techniques in which the Regular Army is trained apply to civil disturbance control as much as to fighting in a major war," Col. James Ewing said in a recent Pentagon interview. "Getting a sniper is essentially the same job in each case. The difference is when to use force in civil

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Chile prepares for attack

Battle brews at OAS meeting

By VIRGINIA PREWETT

BATTLE lines of a sort are already drawn for the Organization of American States Assembly, which began a ten-day session here yesterday. Chile has told the United States it "cannot ignore" Washington's (alleged) scheming in 1970 to prevent the election of Dr. Salvador Allende to its presidency, as tenuously revealed in the Anderson-ITT scandal.



The U.S. delegation to the OAS Assembly is prepared to assume a "statesman-like, dignified attitude," but if attacked hard will "reply in kind."

The Nixon Administration, from the highest level, has signaled to Dr. Allende what weapons it has. But it is also clear the White House wants to avoid a knock-down-and-drag-out fight at the OAS with Chile. Our side has had good success getting complaining Latinos

down to work in committees and may do this again at the Assembly, where such meetings are closed.

Our Secretary of State, William Rogers, obviously does not want to become involved. After entertaining the visiting delegation heads at a luncheon today he will leave for a visit to Canada tomorrow.

LOUD, CLEAR SIGNALS

The signals launched by the Nixon team to Chile on the Assembly eve have been loud and clear. They tell Santiago that Washington has detailed proof that President Allende is harboring a Cuban embassy now trying to upset governments in both Bolivia and Uruguay.

On Friday, April 7, the New York Times' roving columnist on foreign affairs published leaked information aimed at both Castro and Allende. It revealed that Bolivian exiles in Chile now marshaling to "communize Bolivia" are directed by a Cuban mission in Santiago. Dr. Allende is pointedly tied into the affair by the revelation that the Cuban who heads the mission is a Castro intelligence officer named Luis Fernandez Ona, "married to Allende's favorite daughter, Beatrice."

AID TO GUERRILLAS

Earlier, an even more detailed leak of CIA information to Jack Anderson on March 30 had given chapter and verse on the way the Cubans in Castro's Santiago embassy and the Allendista Chileans are working to help guerrillas trying to overturn governments in Bolivia and Uruguay.

Latin American sources had long since revealed this to me and it comes as no surprise to the well-informed. But the timing of the leaks, especially the one to columnist Sulzberger, indicates the White House holds a strong hand and wishes it to be known.

But this same White House, at the moment, is in a bind on the issue, one it will not be free of until after President Nixon visits Moscow in May, if then. The Nixon-Kissinger team wishes to keep its options wide, if possible. Depending on how Moscow is willing to deal, the team might later want to make a 180 degree turn, specifically on Castro's Cuba.

Other complaints against the United States besides Chile's, will be heard at the OAS assembly, echoing those sure to be voiced at this week's Santiago meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). And these complaints may become deeply involved in our domestic, election-year politics. For none other than the longtime Nixon critic, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman, Sen. J. William Fulbright, is meeting with the Latinos on April 14.

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